

CEREMONIAL PRACTICES

23

"all our moisture comes from the sky." The abodes of the rain gods ³⁴⁶ in the four directions are thought to be brush huts of this same sort.

For the anomalous prayer-stick festival a large, roofless enclosure is built, like the structures used by the Shoshonean Indians of southern California. It is roughly made and is pulled down when the ceremony is over.

SHRINES

Papaguera has many local shrines, all very crude and some not ³⁴⁶ more than a cave or a stone, marking the place of some supernatural ⁷⁷⁹ event. A list of the best-known ones follows.

Santa Rosa, Akchin, Archie.—These three places share the most elaborate of the shrines—a pile of stones surrounded by a fence of ocotillo stems, with openings toward all four directions. The stones, says tradition, cover a hole through which once the ocean water ^[773] threatened to issue in a flood. It was stopped by the sacrifice of four children, a boy and a girl from each moiety. They were thrown into the hole, but remain alive underground; they are the patron supernaturals of the locality. At a little distance from their shrine is an olla that is said to have been put there for the first offering.

Kaka.—A hole where a great wind once entered the earth.

Poso Verde, Sonora.—A cave where the cannibal woman was suffocated by smoke, under I'itoi's directions.

Baboquiviri Mountain.—A cave where I'itoi lived while teaching his people.

Sikorhimat.—The spot where once a ceremonial clown fell dead, having run from Archie to bring a message.

Topawa.—A white rock which receives an offering of eagle down when rain is wanted.

Few of these shrines, except the "children's grave" at Santa Rosa, ⁷⁷⁸ are associated with any special ceremony, but anyone visiting them ^[778] leaves an offering, generally an arrow or some tobacco, and repeats some such invocation as the following: "I give you this; now bring me luck." They are still honored to such an extent that the writer, when passing near one, was bidden by her Papago companions to

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CEREMONIAL PRACTICES

There I could do nothing.
It was my cigarette smoke
Circling about.
It turned him (the rain god)
And set him facing me.

CEREMONIAL GESTURES

- 788 The Papago, when touching a sacred object, made the gesture of breathing in from it. It was also usual to pass it from head to foot over the body. Sometimes they touched special parts of the body with it: the forehead, the breast, the two shoulders, and the abdomen. A similar gesture was used in marking a child with white clay at the naming ceremony and when purifying a woman after puberty or childbirth.* It is so like the Catholic crossing that one wonders in reading the first accounts of the Spanish missionaries whether the many Indian converts were using a new Christian gesture or the pagan gesture which was traditional with them.
- 788 All Papago ceremonies were oriented, and in describing one the 822 informant always stooped and drew a diagram in the sand showing 823 where each participant was placed. East, the most sacred direction, was associated with the color white; north, the direction of evil, with black; west and south were variously associated with red, blue, and yellow. The circuit was counterclockwise, and the ceremonial number was four.

COSTUMES AND PARAPHERNALIA

- 292 The Papagos made little attempt to devise ceremonial costumes, for they did not have the materials for them. But they selected the dancers, male or female, for their long, glossy hair, which was worn loose. The exposed parts of their bodies were painted with patterns and colors, which differed for each ceremony. Only on the occasion of the prayer-stick festival was the rule of simplicity in dress abandoned. There the singers were masked and wore a sort of kilt, which seems to have resembled those used in the Pueblos; the masked Navitcu clowns wore feather headdresses.

* See Underhill, 1939, p. 157.

THE RAINMAKING CEREMONY

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Pisinimo people, before dawn, returned their sacred basket to its ⁷⁹⁶₇₉₆^x desert hiding place and provided it with new offerings, each man saying, as he made his contribution:

31. Now do I give you my bird down [or beads or deer tail]. You are to ⁷⁸⁸₆₃₉^x be favorable to me. I shall be a great runner [hunter, singer, etc.]. And the rain will fall.⁽¹⁾

All sexes and ages gathered for the sit-and-drink, both from home and from neighboring villages. The women and the girls stood under the arbor outside the council house, since at present, at least, they do not drink. The men sat cross-legged in an enormous circle. According to a Pisinimo informant only men of the *aapap* sib might sit in this circle, "since the drinking ceremony belonged to them as the cleansing dance did to the *maam* sib." The latter might drink, but they must sit behind the *aapap*.⁽¹⁾ At four places in the circle, corresponding to the four directions, were spread mats, and to these were invited the shamans or the officials who had been summoned by the mocking bird speech.

As each of these men seated himself, the mocking bird speaker again made him a formal address:

INVITATION TO BE SEATED IN THE DRINKING CIRCLE
(Santa Rosa)

32. But now did I come to you as messenger, friend,
Something delightful desiring.
Some little things I planted in my field,
Crawling on hands and knees [with my weeding hoe],
Nothing could I raise [that would ferment].
Only my child knew [the plants that were] around us.
Repeatedly did he go picking them
And in the palm of my hand he placed them.

With water I mixed them well.
Before the liquid in the jar, half dead I sat,
Desiring that speedily it should ferment.
After two mornings it felt kindly toward me,
And gloriously it fermented.

Then did I think of the shamans, wherever they might be living,
And here a shining road did stretch itself and reach to you.

539^x
796^x

102

HUNTING

x 796
224
x 639

And make a snout.
It was hail.
And I made eyes.
It was the wind.
Therewith did I stroke the image,
And from it water dripped.

It seems obvious that the next three lines should have preceded "It was the wind" above. They were written as dictated, but would seem to show that a ceremonialist's memory is not infallible.

It was a cloud.
I pressed it on the buttocks [as a tail].
Then I made hair,
And I let loose the deer.

There stood a mountain, black and stony.
Toward that it leaped;
Behind the gray hill it stood.
Behind the deer there stood a flowering tree,
And behind that the youths.
They felled the deer;
They wounded it.
They ran up, the old men, the youths, the children.
They rubbed themselves [with the tail]
And prayed for a good life.(39)

x 796
224

After the speech the hunters butchered the deer in the regulation fashion. When the tail was cut off, each man passed it over his body in blessing. Then it was stiffened with an arrow and given to an *adapap* man to carry home, while a *maam* man carried the meat. The bearer of the tail went to the ceremonial house circling it four times counter-clockwise. Then he entered and presented the tail to the shaman, who, perhaps, in early days made a mark on the ground as described in the first speech. All the villagers then came and passed it over their bodies saying: "Make me well. Let me have no pain."

[616] The meat was cooked without salt by two old women, one from each moiety. Before it was put on the fire the shaman waved over it a branch of cholla, of a particularly thorny variety. The branch

317 find. At a little distance grew the last tree they would see, and
484 from it they cut scratching sticks, to be used as soon as they had
touched salt.

Then they went as far as possible that night, so that they might
get to the ocean and back the next day. It would be a waterless
twenty-four hours, and they had drunk all they could at the tank
in preparation. At this last camping place they left all extra equip-
ment, and each man deposited one of his canteens. When they re-
turned from their day of salt gathering, they would be sure of a
drink.

[TB] The peak where Anegam and Santa Rosa performed their ritual
was Black Mountain,* the Ararat where Elder Brother is said to
have landed in his olla after the flood. Here, also, there was water,
which the neophytes might not drink until they had raced up the
hill. The fleetest of them carried one prayer stick for all. He waved
• [V] it four times toward the ocean, then four times across his breast
from right to left and four times down, while the others "cleansed"
themselves with a similar motion. The man with the prayer stick
then sat down and pounded it into the earth, with the usual in-
vocation. Santa Rosa and Anegam also left prayer sticks at the tree
where they cut scratching sticks.

317 On this last night, both Santa Rosa and Anegam made speeches
484 which prefigured the purification of the neophyte and his acquisi-
537 tion of power. The Anegam speech describes most vividly the neo-
phyte's entrance into the water and the ceremonial throwing of
corn meal, which was the actual procedure. In the visions of
Anegam, Coyote was the traditional protector, while with Santa
Rosa it is the unnamed "guardian" himself. The "marking" de-
scribed is the same as that which is used in naming a child and in
purifying a girl at puberty. It seems to stand for purification,
though it is not now used for the salt pilgrim.

317 After the crier's call and "The Heartening," the Anegam speaker
484 said:
x 537

8. Thus was fulfilled my desire.
Toward the west a black road did lie.

* Mexican, Pinacate.

THE SALT PILGRIMAGE

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Bowlegged!

Hítcia háhina!(18)

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723
[539]^x

After each two songs two of the singers walked over to perform an act of purification on the neophytes. They approached each one and laid a scraping stick on his breast and back, pressing down four times. As they did this, they breathed out, while the neophyte breathed in the power being given him. Each singer then spoke to him:

19. Hail! Thus do I to you. You will be like me. You will do much. [539]^x
You will go about much. You will be like me in action.(9)

Any other virtue of the singer might be augured for the neophyte. [793]

As the singers returned to their seats, one man who was a hereditary sprinkler of corn meal, rose and strewed the sacred meal made from flat-headed corn over their baskets and their scraping sticks, also over the piles of salt and of tokens. During all this performance, the shaman sat by the fire, looking into the salt and then [727]
around the village in order to perceive any sickness or evil which might be present. He had his magic crystal in his hand and used it to "give light." The songs continued until morning, when the basket of salt was carried around by one of the pilgrims and distributed to the bystanders. As each took a lump, he breathed in [788] ●
from it to obtain power.

BEFORE SALT IS DISTRIBUTED

[539]^x

20. *Hí hlanai hu!*

Morning is lulled to sleep.

Hítcia háhina!

Morning is lulled to sleep.

Hítcia háhina!

Finely ground corn [salt]

By daylight we will give.

Morning is lulled to sleep.

Hítcia háhina!(9)

After the distribution the meeting broke up.

The neophytes now passed the usual period of seclusion to make safe the power they had acquired for failure to do so would bring 317
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¹⁷⁷
⁷⁷⁶ disturbed, the devil might have developed into a guardian spirit
⁷⁸⁷ in good standing.

● ⁷⁸⁸ There were some more organized versions of Christian belief. One of these grew up among the northern Papago, who had retained their tradition of a yearly pilgrimage to Mexico. In fact, their goal was Kino's old headquarters, the church at Magdalena, in the Altar valley. Gradually the visit there became formalized, so that instead of a winter sojourn by individuals or families, it ^[439] was a pilgrimage of several weeks, made by half the population of a village. The Franciscan priests who today control the missions believe that the custom may have had its roots in Jesuit times. Otherwise, why do the pilgrims always bring home the picture of St. Francis Xavier, patron of Jesuit missionaries? The Franciscans suggest that, had they instituted the custom, they would naturally have used the picture of their own patron, St. Francis of Assisi.

The journey as an institution lapsed some years ago, when a Mexican revolution closed the churches. Until then it had been one of the great events of the year for the northern villages. This is how one participant described it, in the days when the journey was made by wagon.

Everyone who can sell a cow and get money goes. There are about a hundred wagons in a big long line, and they make a camp circle at night. The lady that gave the statue of St. Francis to our church always takes it with her to be blessed. She carries it in her trunk, wrapped in a blessed cloth, and when she camps she sets it on something, never on the ground. . . . When they get to Magdalena, they go straight to the church and get their property blessed. Then they have a good time and buy things.

⁷⁸⁸ As indicated by the last lines, the days in the rich Mexican
⁴³⁹ valley were as much a carnival as a religious exercise. The little town of Magdalena brought out its stores of fruit, candy, cheap jewelry, and Mexican finery and held a fair in the plaza. It was from this source that the Indians brought their most cherished white man's goods. Only recently has it been displaced by the nearer markets at Tucson.

⁰⁰⁰ The Indians always saved a little money for candles and holy

MODERN CEREMONIAL LIFE

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horned creature they represent looks like no animal in particular ⁷⁴⁶ and is said to be the devil. The rest of the costume consists of ¹⁷⁷ old, ragged clothing, though formerly the impersonator went naked. Youths who volunteer for this service expect to gain good ^[777] fortune, like other ceremonial performers.

The devils appear on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday of Holy Week. During these days everyone guards his yard enclosure with a cross, because anything not so protected may be appropriated by the devils. "This is to teach the people how to guard against bad people." The devils come around, gesturing and scaring the children and will take anything outside the yard. The remedy is to make the sign of the cross; then the devil will run away. If he has taken anything, one may chase him with a crucifix or make him an offering of a cigarette(!); then he will drop the object. The devils are particularly active on Good Friday night. On Saturday morning, everything that they have taken is piled up in front of the church. The people come to claim their property and pay a cigarette or five or ten cents. Otherwise everything is burned.

After the redemption of property, the devils are whipped with ⁷⁸⁵ branches of *Encelia farinosa*. This, when they were naked, was a ¹⁷⁷ serious affair and meant really to hurt. There is a whipper for each devil, chosen by the old man in charge of the arrangements. The devils do not resist, but come docilely and kneel. Just before the whipping the people throw flowers on the devils. "These are from Santa Maria Guadalupe," they say. The reason is that "once when Guadalupe was on this earth, a man threw flowers on her, asking for rain. You can see the flowers on her robe now, although some call them stars." Throwing flowers has since been ^[789] recognized as a way to ask for rain from the Christian supernatural. After being whipped, the devils remove their masks and throw them on the fire, where the booty is being burned. They say: "Now I shall feel happy. I shall relinquish my work. I shall continue four years, then I shall finish. Whoever is a friend to me will assume this duty and will follow as I did."

After the devils have been disposed of, there is social dancing ⁵³⁵ in couples, in the Mexican style. At intervals a "pascal" dancer, ¹⁷⁷

the wise man might simply attain his position by the exhibition of good judgment. "If he showed sense, they would listen to him" (8). This is the standard exploit in tales of the orphan boy, who makes a good suggestion in meeting before he is considered old enough to speak. The important factors would seem to have been a man's practical sense and knowledge of traditions. 623

In the summer village the meeting was held in the Big House: in camp it was in a brush enclosure, or even a cleared space on the ground. The Keeper of the Meeting or the man who was acting as such built a fire in the center of the place to be used, called the people or had them called and sat down facing the east. (In a house or enclosure this would mean opposite the door.)

The wise men, as they arrived, took their places around the fire and the listeners behind them. The crier sat at the right of the Keeper. In villages where there was a speaker to put the leader's proposals the speaker sat at the right and the crier at the left. Some informants thought that each wise man had his allotted place which he occupied during life and which was assigned to a new wise man on his death (14). The same informant thought that the shamans, far from being excluded, had special places, at the north, south, east, and west of the circle, as they do at the drinking ceremony. At present certain prominent men are allowed by custom always to have seats near the Keeper, but there is no other formality. 756

Some informants thought that the Leg always sat behind the Keeper ready to be sent on errands. Another said that when the meeting was held in a roofless enclosure, the fire was put outside it so as to deceive the Apache. One man then had the duty of running to the fire to bring an ember for lighting the cigarettes. He sat behind the Keeper and was called the peg, that is, the peg with which a hide is fastened down for drying (25). 202

The proper demeanor in this and all other assemblies was to sit on the heels with arms folded and head bent. The hair should be tied with a thong, so that there would be no disturbing motion of raising the hand to keep it from blowing. It was highly blameworthy to show signs of drowsiness and the offender would have a lighted cigarette thrust between his toes. 516
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The men arrived in silence and when all were seated, the ceremonial cigarette was passed. This was a six inch tube of cane or cornhusk filled, in the earliest days, with wild tobacco. The Keeper lit this or had it lit by an assistant and puffed ceremonially with an invocation, "Now do I breathe out. It will reach you. You will send a benefit" (14). Or, "May he bless me, give me life and lead me along a good road." The power originally referred to was thought 623
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623 to be the sun, although the word *teioc*, God, is sometimes used. An
 ● 788 upward breathing without words had the same meaning (1). If
 there was enough tobacco, three puffs might follow the invocation, making up the ceremonial four. The Keeper then passed the cigarette to the man at his right, calling him by the actual kinship term. The man gave the reciprocal term and puffed in the same ceremonial fashion. This passing of the cigarette with the kinship term is a preliminary to all important procedure.

The cigarette passed all the way around the circle, only one man smoking at a time. It was not passed to the young men. When it reached the Keeper again, he put it out by thrusting it, lighted end downward, into the ground beside him, to be lit again at the next interval between speeches. Usually one six-inch tube lasted the whole evening. In later days, when tobacco was more plentiful, any man who could brought his own. They lit cigarettes at a signal from the Keeper, "Now light the jointed reed!" puffed with invocation and passed to a neighbor with the kinship term just as had been done when there was one cigarette for all. Thus several men might be smoking at one time, but they all stopped at the word from the Keeper, "Place the jointed reed in the ground."

183 After the smoking the Keeper or sometimes a delegated speaker,
 623 addressed the assemblage: "Hail, my relatives!" and made the regular opening speech. Though this was in the speaker's own words, its content was standardized. It was, in fact, the Papago moral code with whose points each wise man was supposed to be familiar. These points were: Be industrious. Be hunger enduring, cold enduring, thirst enduring. Practise running that your young men be swift in time of war and that your women be able to escape. Let every man keep his weapons ready. Have an extra bowstring. Have plenty of arrows. See that your women grind plenty of cornmeal so that you will be strong for fighting. See that your women segregate themselves at the proper time so that you will not lose your strength.

537 There was a definite technique for the admonition speech which
 623 was different from that for the ritual orations. These latter were delivered in a sonorous voice with the accent on the last word of the sentence. The admonition speech had the normal accent but the voice was expressionless and exceedingly low. The same effect was used in admonitions to young people given at home. The monotonous murmur with its constant repetitions was, to the writer, almost hypnotic.

Fragmentary versions of such speeches follow:

"Well then! Will you not be ready? Will you not take care! Already I have said thus to you: that you shall make arrows,

Village Government

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that you shall make bows, that you shall be watchful. When the enemy will arrive, you do not know. It may be at night that he will come—at night, or in the morning, or when the sun stands almost anywhere. Beside you do you place your bow that you may snatch it up and fight. Early in the morning do you eat, that you may be able to fight. Always I say this. Every evening I say it to you at the meeting, that you shall keep near you your bow, your hunting arrows, your war arrows, your quiver." "Your women, very early let them cook. Let them feed the youths that they may fight the enemy, wherever the sun stands. Let them fetch water, let them search for firewood, that they may cook something. Early in the morning let them practise running, that when the enemy arrives they may run far down yonder and save themselves."

623
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"This I recite and this I say to you. Do you listen and let it enter your ears and enter your head. (26)

Hunting

"Early in the morning you will rise, you will run far yonder to the foot of the mountain range. You will chase something, you will kill it, you will bring it home and therewith feed yourself. White-tailed deer you will follow, black-tailed deer you will follow and therewith feed yourself and live. This is our food, thus said he, whoever he is, who made us. The deer did he make that you should kill it and eat. Look! thus they shall live, our young men. The deer shall they follow, they shall hunt and shall kill. Thus they will be great runners. Thus they shall do, the people. From long ago has this been done and therewith it has been well. (21)

Planting

"Something again I say to all you villagers, that therewith you may be alert. You will cause the rain to fall and you will plant something." (21)

At the close of the speech, each man in turn, beginning at the right of the speaker, called him loudly by the kinship term, while the speaker responded with the reciprocal. This was the ritual performance of *imik iimik himatcu't*, passing the kinship term, which constituted applause on any occasion. One village was said to have had an official, the passer-of-kinship-terms, who always started this applause and saw that it was properly carried around the circle (9). An unrelated man would say "friend", but such a person was rare unless he was a visitor from another village.

623
[788]●
[624]

If there was tobacco enough, there might be another ritual smoking and perhaps a period of silent thought. Then any proposal

the Yuman form of visiting mountains but might be to the sea or beyond it. Or the Visitant might simply instruct the dreamer. 787

It would seem that an unimaginative young man, faced with the necessity to "dream" dramatically before he could have the inspiration to success, might be frustrated. The series of speeches delivered to the neophytes before their retreat both in war and on the salt expedition fills this need for they are narratives of the vision experienced by some primeval dreamer. These, recited night after night, under impressive circumstances, might easily dispose a young mind to a nearly similar experience. In one of the war rituals, the guardian recites the experience as though it had actually happened to the neophyte: 787 154

"At the east there lives

A great yellow buzzard, a great shaman....

He picked you up, and far he threw you,

You fell half dead, you awoke, you came to yourself."

Sixteen days of fasting, following this recital, might go far toward producing the experience.

In the salt ritual there is a description of the state of mind which precedes such dreams. It gives a picture of one definitely working himself up to a state of tension. [788] ●

"Food she cooked for me

I did not eat.

Water she fetched for me

I did not drink.

Then thus to me she said:

What is it?

You did not eat the food which I have cooked,

The water which I fetched, you did not drink.

Then thus I said:

It is a thing I feel.

I rose and across the bare spaces did go walking

Did peep through the openings in the scrub.

Looking about me,

Seeking something....

I rose. I reached the shade before my house,

There did I try to sit. Not like itself it seemed....

On my bed I tried to lie.

Not like itself it seemed....

To the center of the house did I go crawling

And the center post

Seemed a white prayer stick

So like it was...."

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DIVERSE CREEDS

vulgar.* Toward the end of his dance men or women from the crowd may join 527
the *pahkowl*. Afterward the dancing goes on as before. Sometimes there are 535
fireworks, a chicken-pull, or an olla-breaking.*

Meanwhile in the feast house the male members of the host families are 527
serving all the guests with chili, tamales, coffee, wheat buns, possibly beans, [262]
garbanzos (chick-peas), a meat-vegetable stew, and usually rice pudding or
stewed fruit. There is considerable drinking in the darkness away from the
fire and, since it is impolite to refuse a proffered bottle, a good deal of drunken-

ness. The police are frequently invited to be present in order to prevent trouble.
The fiesta does not break up until all the food is gone, perhaps at dawn or
noon of the following day. Then the orchestra plays "Home, Sweet Home" in
waltz time to close the dance.

On certain feast days there are special observances. On San José's Day 527
friends tie silk scarves, belts, and other gifts on the arms of all the men and 796
women named for the saint, in a ceremony called "tying the Joses and Jose-
finas." The Joses and Josefinas must then reciprocate by pouring drinks for
the givers and finally for the whole crowd. At the fiesta of San Francisco
objects blessed during the annual pilgrimage are brought out for the edifica-
tion of the crowd.

MAGDALENA

Faith in San Francisco Xavier and his good works has a deep hold on all 788
Papago Catholics and is one of the main foci of Sonora Catholic belief. To
some of these Indians this saint seems even more important than the Trinity,
and every family hopes to make a pilgrimage to his church at Magdalena in
Sonora, Mexico, each year.

Padre Kino, who brought Christianity to the Papago, dedicated the Magda-
lena church in 1711 to the patron saint of the Jesuits, Francis Xavier. During
the ceremony Kino took ill at the altar and died shortly thereafter. He was
buried in the church near the altar. As the fame of Kino's work among the
Indians spread, the church became a shrine to which great crowds came
from all over northwestern Mexico and what is now Arizona to celebrate the
saint's day, December 3. Apparently when the Franciscan order replaced the

8. The *pahkowl*'s dance and jests may be copied from the Yaqui *pascola*, whom the Papago see
perform in the United States and in Mexico, particularly at Magdalena. On special occasions the
Papago hire *pascolas* from Arizona Yaqui villages to dance for them.

9. In chicken-pulling, a rooster is buried up to the neck and riders run their horses toward it,
leaving over to try to pull it out of the ground. In olla-breaking, people take turns hitting with
sticks at an olla full of candies which hangs from a corner of the church. When someone succeeds
in breaking the olla, everyone scrambles for the sweets that fall out.

THE DESERT PEOPLE

- 788 Jesuits, the date of the pilgrimage was shifted to the feast day of St. Francis of Assisi, patron of the Franciscans, October 4.¹⁰

778 The change in the identity of the saint made no difference to the faithful.
 788 San Francisco Xavier is their saint, who watches over them and helps to bring rain to the desert. Pictures of the saint lying upon his tomb crowd the walls of their little churches and the altars in their homes. Underhill remarks the sharp contrast between this "cult of a dead man" and the Papago fear of the dead. She believes it quite possible that the Papago do not realize that the picture represents a sarcophagus; for, when the Papago buy a waxen image of San Francisco, they dress it in a silk nightshirt and lay it in a doll bed. "When asked why the saint is in bed, they are vague. He is a white supernatural, and that is his way. They cannot tell why he performs his miracles lying down, but they know he performs them."¹¹

788 The annual pilgrimage to honor San Francisco is the greatest event of the year for many a Papago family. For weeks ahead of time talk is of nothing else. A cattle roundup and sale are held in September to procure enough food, clothing and supplies for the two-hundred-and-fifty-mile journey and the week spent in Magdalena. The family *santos* must be packed carefully, so that they, too, can be taken to receive the blessing of the saint. At last the family sets out by wagon, truck, or car, sleeping by the road at night.

788 In Magdalena they camp together with other Papago families in a large open field on the edge of town. Every day they go to market in one of the two central plazas, where there are row on row of little booths, with fruits and candies, bakery goods, bright-colored clothing, knickknacks, and sacred objects for sale. The adults buy clothing and household equipment for the coming year and gifts for everyone at home, while the children wander about the plaza, gazing at the booths, spending a few nickels a day for sweets or occasionally riding the merry-go-round.

788 Menfolk are likely to be found in the bars around the second plaza, since in Mexico they can get all the liquor they can pay for. Women worry because 733 their men get drunk and lose all their money to the Mexicans or are jailed for creating a disturbance. A loud-speaker blares out the names of those who have been arrested, and their wives obtain their release by paying a fine.

788 At least once during the week the mother (and perhaps the father) takes the children into the church to touch the image of St. Francis. New *santos* and bright ribbons bought at the shops outside, and the *santos* from home, are

10. At the mission of San Xavier del Bac near Tucson, also founded by Kino and later rebuilt by the Franciscans, the great celebration of the year is still on December 3, the day of the Jesuit saint.

11. Ruth Underhill, "Acculturation at the Papago Village of Santa Rosa" (MS), p. 31.

THE DESERT PEOPLE

- 748 brought along. Reaching the saint requires stamina and patience, for every inch of the building is crowded, and worshipers wait hours in line. Eventually the family push through to the transept to touch the *santos* and ribbons to the saint, to kneel and kiss the recumbent statue of St. Francis Xavier, and to make a donation. At last they make their way out of the church.

If there is a baby whom they wish baptized that he may have special good fortune, they must once again wait in a long line to take him to the priest in the baptistry. The priests, when they are free, are also asked to bless the ribbons and *santos* which will be, twice-blessed, so carefully carried home again.

The object of the pilgrimage is accomplished: they have renewed their relationship with San Francisco and assured themselves of his good offices during the coming year.

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521 At the end of the festival week—or earlier if their money is all gone—the Papago family starts the long trip home. A day or two after their return relatives who did not go call to hear about the journey. Each visitor solemnly shakes hands with each pilgrim, crosses himself with the sacred objects brought from Magdalena, and receives around his neck one of the consecrated ribbons, which will bring him the blessing of San Francisco and good health during the year. Gifts are distributed, events of the journey are discussed, and visitors are feasted. The exciting days have passed, but they will be the subjects of talk and meditation for months to come, and the ribbons will be worn until they fall apart.

RITES FOR THE DEAD

- 769 Sonora Catholics, and some members of the Roman church as well, have several rites for the dead which have probably come up from Mexico. One is the ceremony on the death anniversary. On this day relatives and friends of the deceased gather, and the women sing and pray until midnight. Then a tiny coffin placed before the family altar is covered with confetti in a symbolic interment. The relatives change their mourning clothes for garments of bright colors; the guests are fed, and the ritual year of mourning is ended.

All Souls' Day is carefully observed. Graves are cleaned and decorated with wreaths and burning candles. In the evening a table is placed outside each house, with a place set for each of the dead of the immediate family. The favorite foods of the deceased load the tables, and candles are lighted on them. Then the family leaves, so that the dead may eat without endangering the living. At midnight the food is taken to the feast house, reheated, and eaten by all the people of the village.

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²⁷⁶ that smoking be done only with the reed grass cigarette, never with corn husks. This was true for both Papago and Pima. Lloyd⁸ observed that the ceremonial pipes of reed grass had bunches of small bird feathers tied to them. Corn husks to be used for cigarettes were selected when the corn was being shucked, and by each man for himself; only the soft, white inner husks were saved, and these stored in an arrowweed basket. These cigarettes were six to eight inches long and tied at both ends with shreds of corn husk. Often the cigarette was not all smoked at one time, as tobacco was scarce.

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²⁷⁸ Smoking was practically universal among older Papago and Pima men, but less common among women and practically forbidden for young men. By both tribes it was considered injurious to young men, weakening them, causing a cough, making them lazy and fat, or unable to stand cold and preventing them from being alert. They did not believe it injured old men in any way. A father's usual reply to his son who requested permission to smoke was, "I will let you smoke after you have killed a coyote." In modern times, this restriction as regards smoking by young men largely has broken down, particularly among the Pima.

Tobacco was not chewed nor used as an emetic by either Papago or Pima.

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²⁷⁸ To both tribes, smoking was essentially a ceremonial performance, and it had to be tobacco (*Nicotiana*) that was smoked, for it was regarded as having power and no other plant possessed equal efficacy.

Ceremonial smoking in a circuit, using only the reed grass cigarette, was fundamentally similar among Pima and Papago, although differing in detail. It was done only on a few special occasions, such as a party preparing for war, deciding on going on a hunt, having a race with another village, or, in fact, a discussion of any tribal problem, and was regarded as an aid in securing supernatural guidance at

⁸ Lloyd, loc. cit.

such times. When either tribe had such council meetings to settle common problems, the men first talked for a while, then the one in charge of the meeting (usually the chief) took a hollow section of *Amaranthus Palmeri* or *Phragmites communis* stem, filled it with tobacco and lighted it. After taking the ritual number of four puffs he handed it on to the man at his right, always counter-clockwise. In warrior circles, it was moved along near the ground, with the words, "It is traveling low—sneaking like a warrior." Each man took four puffs and similarly passed it to his right, and so on until the cigarette had gone around the entire circle. As each moved the cigarette along to the next, he called him by his kinship term, such as brother, uncle, cousin etc., this conveying the expression of friendly feeling. On its return to the one who lighted it, it was stuck into a small pile of ashes at his side. The men (among both tribes) then discussed the topic of the evening for a time, and when all had agreed on the issue in question, the chief relighted the cigarette and passed it around the circle just as before; or, if the problem were a knotty one requiring lengthy discussion, the cigarette might be relighted and again go the rounds. The main reason for all smoking the same cigarette at the meeting was, in the view of these Indians, to develop a unity of thought, spirit and purpose.

In ceremonies or meetings, each man blew the smoke upward to a Spirit in the heavens, upon whom he was calling for help or guidance in making decisions. Some informants, particularly among the Pima, asserted that the great power called upon was the sun. Smoking, both group and individual, was regarded as a sort of prayer—a medium of communication between the smoker and the Great Spirit, while the smoke itself was a means of gaining an audience, as well as the bearer of messages. Procedures and sequences in this ritual circuit smoking were always in fours, but smoke was not blown in the several directions as was customary among some tribes.

CHAPTER X

GENERAL CEREMONIAL ASPECTS OF PIMAN
AGRICULTURE

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Ceremonialism was feebly developed among the Pimans as compared with the Pueblos. Underhill¹ has pointed out that the native line of division among the Papago is along a north and south line, the more advanced groups being to the east, and the more primitive ones to the west. Thus the Archie group retains many of the old ceremonies abandoned elsewhere, such as the important ceremony of the Vikita. Although the Pima formerly had as much or more ritualism than did the Papago, it is much better preserved and more easily and completely obtainable from the Papago.

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The Piman conception was that ritual was just as important as actual cultivation in producing a crop, and no crop could be expected without it, consequently there existed a variety of individual and collective magical practices associated with the various stages of cultivation.

There was no formal group planting ceremony, the planting ritual consisting largely of singing individual songs of invocation and praise, maize, teparies, pumpkins and tobacco being planted with an individual invocation, which centered around maize as the principal crop. Also, with the Papago, the chief in each village got the people together just before planting time and exhorted them, saying it was now about time to plant crops, and that they should plant and industriously care for them. The day before planting started people began singing planting songs and continued until their repertoire was exhausted. During the summer, various nights of group singing were held to encourage the growth of crops. The most common of the various magical

¹ Underhill: *Papago*, pp. 60, 234-35.

VÍKITA CEREMONY	163
773 voice of the male heart calling from the 778 hills at night, and whenever they have tried to follow, it has always eluded them. 796 Each year, at full moon, in the month of July, the basket, with all the ceremonial trappings, is brought forth by the keeper, who is an old Papago woman, sister of the man who has charge of it, and she watches over it during the whole ceremony. At the conclusion, the man in charge opens the basket, inserts one hand in the bag, putting the other hand over the opening to prevent his seeing the heart, turns it over, then withdraws his hand and closes the opening, replacing the bag in the basket, which he lashes down with deerskin thongs. When the keeper grows old and realizes that he is about to die, he appoints a successor. 796 The people for many miles around make an annual pilgrimage to the village of Quitovaquita, situated twenty-five miles south of the boundary line, in Sonora, to pay honor to the sacred relic, and to pray for blessings which it grants, such as plenty of rain, good crops, health, and long life for each family. Any neglect of this pil-	
AND MONOGRAPHS	4

164	PAPAGO
796 768 133 137 342 361 312 796	grimage and ceremony may entail floods, drought, sickness, even death. To avoid these the people travel many miles, with teams or on horseback, under a blazing sun or in rainstorms, to participate in the ceremony. The place where the monster lived covers an area of two or three hundred acres of whitish earth or calcareous material, which the Indians claim to be the remains of the flesh of the monster. Below the surface are masses of immense bones. Quitovaquita is surrounded by tropical desert vegetation of palo verde, mesquite, palo fierro, giant or saguaro cactus, pitahaya or organ cactus, and other desert growth. It consists of twenty or thirty one-story houses, built of adobe or of stone imbedded in mud. In the center of the village is a <i>charco</i>, or large pool, which is fed by a number of springs and furnishes water for the village, and drinking and wading places for burros, horses, and cattle. When the pool is filled, the water is used to irrigate the gardens of the villages. During the period of the fiesta the village is thronged with visiting Indians, and those who cannot find accommoda-
III	INDIAN NOTES

ETHNOBIOLOGICAL STUDIES

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ritual songs. Then each separately approached the neophyte⁷⁸³ and blew tobacco smoke over him, auguring success for his²⁷⁶ future. In the case of a man who had killed an enemy, those who blew the smoke held in their mouths one of two roots, yerba mansa (*Anemopsis californica*) or an unidentified sweet-scented grass, according to the section of the tribe to which the neophyte belonged.

Corn meal was sprinkled on the sea during the cere-⁷⁸⁸ monial expedition to secure salt. It was also sprinkled on the ground in front of the singers at the harvest dance. Finally, it was taken in the hand as an offering when a ceremonial favor was requested.

GAMES

The Papagos played the usual games common to the⁵²⁶ Indians of the Southwest (8). Kickball was played by men with a sphere of mesquite wood (*Prosopis velutina*) about the size of a modern croquet ball. Or the ball might be a pebble embedded in a sphere of mesquite gum. Women played double ball, a form of shinny, with a "ball" made of two hanks of agave fiber cord tied together with two inches of string. Or they might use two deer knuckle bones in the same way. The stick was a peeled wand of ocotillo, slightly curved at one end.

The game known as *kinyiskuh* was like our parchesi,⁵²⁴ played outdoors on a square the size of a room, marked out by stones and with smooth round stones as the moving pieces. Each move was decided by a throw of four dice. These were sections of giant cactus rib (*Carnegie gigantea*) about eight inches long with patterns marked with red clay and blue soot of creosote bush (*Covillea glutinosa*). Women played dice with sticks made from the split halves of ironwood sticks (*Olnaya tesota*). The convex side of each was blackened with soot and the straight side left white. Each woman threw four and the score depended on the number of white and black sides which fell upward.

Immediate reasons Papagos work--

441 Aside from the necessity for earning enough cash
794 to buy food and clothing, there are other reasons for
796 earning money. During the picking season three im-
portant religious events occur. These are the feast
days of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Francis Xavier,
and All Souls Day of the Roman Catholic ceremonial
calendar. A very high proportion of the tribe goes to
one or another, or all three.

795 Although several denominations have gained a foot-
hold among the Desert People, the vast majority are
184 orthodox or Sonora Catholics. Harvest hands in 1950
were about 95% Catholic.¹ The rest are about evenly
divided between Protestants and individuals conscious-
ly rejecting Christian allegiance to practice native
forms of religion or none at all. The Presbyterian
church has the largest following among Protestant
groups, with six congregations on the reservation.
[797] There are other missions on the reservations. However,
missionary activity does not extend to labor camps.²

484 From the great reservoir of Papago Catholics come
788 the pilgrims to Magdalena, San Xavier, Chuwhiy Guwak
782 at fiesta time. These pilgrims make their journeys
755 primarily to keep promises they've made to the Saint,
776 or to ask him to intercede for them. Because they have
very deep faith in the powers of St. Francis to cure
illnesses, the Desert People frequently vow to the
Saint that if the petitioner or one of his loved ones
is cured, he will visit the statue of the Saint in the
Magdalena (or San Xavier or Chuwhiy Guwak) church.
Often the person vows to make four such visits, to
place a number of candles for the Saint, to leave him
an amount of money, perhaps even to walk from the
border to Magdalena or to perform some other penance.

78 Not all those petitioning the Saint seek health.
776 Some ask aid in business, love or other ventures. The
778 Desert People bring statues and pictures from their
household shrines and chapels to press against the
statue of the Saint for his blessing. They buy yards
of bright ribbons, sold in shops throwa up about the

¹Based on information from 35 individuals.

²Not 1 of 9 persons questioned had seen a missionary
in 1950. 1 had in a previous year.

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church, to be blessed and taken home to give those who couldn't come. But 9 Papagos out of 10 at one of the pilgrimage towns in October, 1950, came to fulfill a vow.¹

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So important are these pilgrimages to the Desert People that almost three-fifths of the Papagos in the cotton fields in 1950 went to Magdalena, San Xavier or Chuwihy Guwak for the October celebration.² In numbers, this apparently meant over 2,500 Papagos traveled from southern Arizona labor camps to one of these three churches. Many more Desert People left their homes on the reserves to make their pilgrimages, although the proportion was not as high because of the large number of Protestants among those remaining on the reserves during picking season, and lack of money to finance a pilgrimage. Perhaps another 1,000 individuals made pilgrimages from the reserves. Almost half the tribe went on the 1950 pilgrimage.

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This religious exodus affected virtually every cotton farm where Papagos worked to some extent.⁴ The number of Papago pilgrims at Magdalena in 1950 seemed rather higher than the year before, apparently reflecting greater psychological stress in the tribe, perhaps arising from greater awareness of a critical economic position and unsettled world conditions again threatening young men. A fifth of the 1950 cotton harvesters had made a pilgrimage in some previous year although they didn't in 1950.⁶ indicating the high proportion of pilgrims returning.

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Greatest of the 3 celebrations is that held on the day of St. Francis of Assisi, October 4. Pilgrims travel to all three churches where miraculous curing statues of St. Francis Xavier are located—Magdalena, San Xavier, and Chuwihy Guwak.

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The largest celebration leading up to the Oct. 4 rites galvanizes the small Mexican city of Magdalena, an adobe settlement located about 60 miles south of the international boundary in Sonora. Many are the stories of cures by its powerful statue, which is supposed to have come to the spot when burros bearing it northward for a procession of friars refused to proceed.

¹Based on 11 persons giving reasons for their trips.
²23 of 40 individuals giving information made pilgrimages. 57%.

³There were about 1,000 families with 4,500 Papagos in labor camps in Pima and Pinal counties in 1950.

⁴9 of 10 farmers in Pima county and 10 of 10 in Pinal giving information lost some Papago workers.

⁵6 of 40 giving information, 20%.

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788 for a procession of friars refused to proceed. Most October pilgrims go to Magdalena--about 60% of the Papagos in the cotton fields who made a pilgrimage in 1950.¹ Of 2,500 or so cotton picker pilgrims, about 1,500 were bound for Magdalena. If the proportion of reservation-dwellers going to the church where the Apostle of the Pimas, Eusebio Kino, was buried was the same as among cotton picking Papagos, some 600 of them saw Magdalena in 1950. A 2,100 total agrees closely with the estimate this writer made previously of the number of Papagos in Magdalena at fiesta time--2,000.

Papago pilgrims in Magdalena stayed from a few hours to a week. The average sojourn in 1950 was 3 days.² Some hardy souls made a flying trip from the fields one night by bus, performing their duties to the Saint during the following day, and returning that night, reported back to work next morning. But usually the Desert People spent from 1 to 2 days traveling to and from Magdalena--a half day trip from Tucson including customs and immigrations formalities on both sides of the border.

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788 About half the Papagos visiting Magdalena in 1950 traveled by bus--Greyhound in the U. S. and Transportes Norte de Sonora in Mexico.⁴ Slightly less than half reached the fiesta on trucks, paying just over \$7.00 on the average for this rough-and-ready transportation.⁵ A few of the Desert People still made the slow wagon journey from their reservations to Magdalena in 1950, but authorities on both sides of the international boundary frowned upon the practice, and Mexican officials closed their border to wagons.

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641 U. S. citizens entering Mexico are required to obtain "Tourist Permits" identifying the individual and entitling him to remain in that country for six months. Practice in regard to Papagos crossing the border has varied greatly in both Mexico and the United States because of difficulties in determining citizenship of Indians often speaking neither English or Spanish who may have been born on either side of the border and not know which. The migrations of the Desert People between

(Text continues on p. 90)

¹ 14 of 24 whose pilgrimage goal was obtained went to Magdalena, 61%.

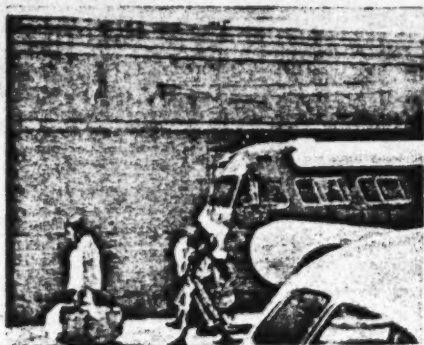
² Dobyns, 1950, p. 28. Contains fuller description of The Fiesta of St. Francis at Magdalena.

³ Based on information from 8 individuals and observation of hundreds at Magdalena.

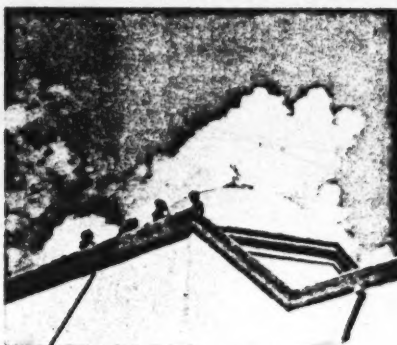
⁴ Based on 6 of 11 giving information, much observation.

⁵ 6 of 11 individuals giving data came by truck, paying \$7.15 apiece roundtrip on the average.

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Half the Papago pilgrims came by bus.



Papago children explored the church founded by Eusebio Kino and Augustin de Campos over 250 years ago . . .



or enjoyed a ride . . .



while their parents shopped for candles for San Francisco Xavier . . . and ribbons for stay at homes . . . and statues . . . and religious pictures . . . and milagros.

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[641] their fields and springs on both sides of the boundary have given many virtually dual citizenship. So there is doubt as to whether the Papagos need "Tourist Permits." In 1950¹ apparently three-fourths of the Desert People who journeyed to Magdalena obtained "Tourist Permits" which cost \$3 U. S. currency.¹

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[539] The Magdalena celebration is not wholly religious in character. The plazas of the town are jammed with flimsy booths of poles and mats selling toys, cloth, shoes, hardware, pottery, curios, and goods of every sort, as well as food and drink. There are games of chance, and amusements: merry-go-rounds and power rides; there are beauty parlors and dance halls.

This secular side of fiesta is not ignored by the Desert People. In fact, they join in whole-heartedly. Magdalena merchants look upon them as special guests of the town, welcome guests who are well-behaved and "rich." Every Papago questioning on the matter said he enjoyed his stay in Magdalena.²

[178] This great carnival with its colorful meeting of diverse cultures--Spanish, Papago, and Yaqui and Mayo Indian--seems to be the holiday of the year for the Desert People. Apparently it has largely replaced the old Papago New Year at the sahuaro-jack ceremony early in July as the major calendrical event. Such an occasion cannot lack its economic aspects.

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788 The Papago pilgrim pays about \$7.00 for his transportation. \$3 more goes for a "Tourist Permit." Lodging for 3 nights during fiesta is expensive in Magdalena, since everyone doubles his price, and renting rooms never let at other times of the year is a primary industry of the place. Sleeping space in a room or in a patio near the main plaza in Magdalena costs about \$2 U. S. per night.³ This means another \$6 expenditure for Papagos staying the average length of time. Eating for 3 days is not expensive at throw-together restaurants on plazas and side streets. A satisfactory meal could be purchased for 3 pesos at a reasonably clean establishment; At night a feast (roast whole pig with fresh buns, tomato and vegetable for example) could be had for 4 pesos. Peddlers hawked

¹or 15 Papagos giving information 10 obtained permits, or 77%.

²In this case, 8 individuals of 8. The author has seen 2 fiestas at Magdalena; has yet to see Papagos who didn't seem to be having a good time.

³Dobyns, 1950, p. 28.

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fruits and sugar cane, baked goods and all sorts of manufactured articles. A couple of large ears of boiled green corn costing 40 centavos were almost a meal. With the exchange rate at almost 9 pesos to the U. S. dollar, the Desert People could eat cheaply in Magdalena. \$4 for a three-day stay in 1950 was ample.

[273] Thus a Papago pilgrim spending 3 days at the 1950 fiesta needed about \$20 U. S. to travel to and from Magdalena, and eat and sleep while there. But probably every Papago spent more than that amount, and most spent considerably more. There were candles to be bought for the saint, coins to be left in his box, ribbons to buy, statues for the household shrine, and other religious mementos, including a colored pin or a picture. And because Mexico does not discriminate against her Indian citizens in the matter of liquor as does the U. S., there was good Mexican beer and mescal and tequila to drink without let or hindrance. Most pilgrims probably spent \$25 in 1950, and many spent up to \$47 or \$50 each.

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[797] San Xavier on the Papagos' own San Xavier reservation is not nearly so exciting as the Mexican town, but it is nearer and felt to be safer--many Papagos have an almost pathologic fear of Mexican pachucos. Staffed with Franciscans, San Xavier is still an Indian church, still an Indian mission. To San Xavier go from 15% to 80% of the pilgrims from the cotton fields.¹ This is a much less expensive pilgrimage than the one to Magdalena. There is no town with its shops and bars (although the city of Tucson is only a dozen miles away for shopping). Bus fare is cheaper. The 450 to 500 Papago pickers making a pilgrimage to San Xavier had tamer times.

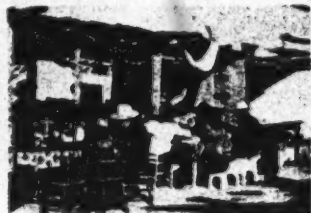
Chuwihy Guwak is a relatively new goal for pilgrims. San Xavier and Magdalena were founded by the first Jesuit missionary to the Desert People, Fr. Eusebio Kino, before 1700. The present churches were built under later Franciscan friars in the Spanish colonial period. But Chuwihy Guwak was never the site of a mission. Just south of the international boundary in Mexico, it is still an Indian town. Mexicans from

TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 931

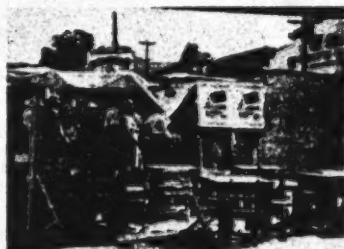
¹4 of 23 whose pilgrimage goal was obtained went to San Xavier--17%.

*Magdalena*527
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Papago pilgrims watched Yaqui and Mayo
dancers fascinated ... paid them hard-earned
U. S. coin...



ate in sidewalk restaurants...



and drank Mexican beer ... mes-
cel ... tequila ... in the sidewalk
bars...

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bought watermelons ... boiled green
corn ... sugar cane ...

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even youngsters ...



and passed out ... to be helped home ...
before the police came.

788 the surrounding countryside are beginning to make the pilgrimage there. The church was built by the Indians to house the statue which is believed by them to have appeared miraculously in the village only a few years ago. Chuwhiy Guwak (the name means Jack-rabbit Falls Down) is growing in importance as a goal for Papago pilgrims. In 1950 it attracted about a fifth of those making a pilgrimage from labor camps, probably more than 500 people.¹ Reached by desert trails, the town is not serviced by a bus. Pilgrims reached it on trucks or in cars, or in wagons or on horseback. Most Desert People who traveled to one of the fiestas by wagon in 1950 visited Chuwhiy Guwak. The town itself has no permanent water supply aside from its charco, and affords no power supply for bright lights. Portable generators were used in 1950 to light the few temporary bars and restaurants. The merchandise stuffed booths of Magdalena were absent, and the cost of a pilgrimage was much lower.

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461 A good many Papagos worked a trip to their homes on the reserves into their pilgrimage before they went back to picking cotton. Their disregard of what most Anglos consider unbreakable rules for good working behavior baffles and irritates their employers. Pilgrims from Pima county labor camps lost an average of 5 1/2 days from work, in effect a work week, varying from those gone a single day to families absent 3 weeks. In Pinal county, which is even more distant from the pilgrimage towns, Papagos lost more time from work. Families stayed from 2 days to a month, averaging 9 days away from their picking jobs.² This amount of time taken from cotton harvesting just before the peak of the season is reached is frequently incomprehensible to Anglo Protestant cotton growers, and is a black mark against Papago Catholic employees in their eyes.

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[435] It seems quite likely that most Papago families making a pilgrimage from a labor camp to Magdalena, Chuwhiy Guwak or San Xavier in 1950 spent most or all that they had earned picking cotton up to that time on their pilgrimage trip. The average sized family working in the cotton harvest needed \$90 for transportation, food and lodging in Magdalena for the usual 3-day sojourn, and the added cost of drinking beer and

¹ 5 of 23 individuals whose goal was obtained, 22%.

² Based on information from 8 farmers hiring Papagos.

³ Based on 10 farms where information was obtained.

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435 mescal and perhaps paying a small fine to get out of jail next morning, buying presents for folks back home and children, purchasing a new pair of boots or a coat and donating to the Saint and buying ribbons and relics to take home all added up. Probably most of the families going to Magdalena spent around \$125.

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1165 While Chuwhiy Guwak was not so expensive, and San Xavier considerably less in cost, the nearly 600 Papago families making pilgrimages from labor camps spent at least \$50,000 on the one religious celebration on St. Francis of Assisi's day, and more than likely spent about \$75,000. It is hardly surprising that Magdalena merchants are glad to see Papagos.

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511 Acquiring this amount of cash to spend is undoubtedly a very strong motive behind Papago cotton field labor. Growers impatient with their Indians for taking off work at this time must realize that this fiesta is one main reason the Desert People work at all!

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514 Most Papago families picking cotton in 1956 made at least one trip home to the reserves. In fact, over four-fifths of them returned home at least once. Some made frequent trips to care for livestock or poultry, or just to have a good time at fiestas, and many made two trips, which was about average.

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988 About 7 trips of every 10 were made at All Souls Day, the next important religious event after the fiesta of St. Francis, and the next most important in number of Indian participants. However, there are no centers for the observance of this day of memorial. Families scatter to their home towns where they visit graveyards to leave flowers and candles and pray for the dead.

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976 The last of the trio of religious festivals falls on Dec. 3, the day of St. Francis Xavier. (Actually the Desert People do not clearly distinguish between Saints Francis of Assisi and Xavier. The big fiesta on Oct. 4 was probably held originally Dec. 3, the day of Jesuit St. Francis Xavier, but was shifted by later

23 families of 24 giving data returned, 82%.
23 families made 30 plus trips (some interviews being early in the season didn't include all trips). 6 Pima and 4 Pinal county farmers said their Papago hands averaged just over 2 trips home per family during picking season, much to their employers' annoyance.
14 of 26 trips of known purpose were at All Souls, 70%.

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[588] Franciscan missionaries to the earlier date of their own St. Francis of Assisi). The fine old mission church at San Xavier del Bac is the goal of Papago pilgrims at that time. In 1950 about 15% of the Desert People picking cotton whp left their jobs made the journey to San Xavier.¹

541 One secular event in the fall competes with religious celebrations for the interest of the Desert People. This is their tribal rodeo staged at Sells. About 1 of 10 Papago cotton pickers attended one of the two-day 1950 performances.² Wage laborers were augmented by great numbers of stay-at-homes, who filled the 2,500-seat capacity stands both days with help of a few hundred Anglo visitors from Tucson and other southern Arizona towns.

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[158] A few laborers return to the reserves for other reasons--some women go home to their mothers when they are due to parturate, although most seem to bear their babies in labor camps without medical aid. Sometimes a quick trip home is necessary to look after animals or other property. But generally when the Desert People go to labor camps, they go to work steadily through the season. They leave only for--to them--pressing reasons.

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[588] Most farmers hiring Indians realize that religious celebrations are very pressing reasons. Obligations the Desert People feel they must fulfill at these times rise above considerations of steady work. The vow to St. Francis comes before some farmer's cotton, or the Papago's own job, and he will go to one of those three churches regardless of other duties. Farmers who realize the importance to the Papagos of their religion are much happier men at fiesta time than those who regard a job as the most important thing in the world.

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[484] However, many farmers do not understand the religious beliefs of their Papago employees sufficiently to make allowances when Indians ignore prevalent Anglo work standards. And cotton growers resent the inconvenience involved in transporting Papagos. A Marana farmer remarked "One reason I never fool with Papagos is you have to take them to Sells 3 or 4 times a year." Another who hired Papagos griped that "Indians are more

¹ 3 of 26 trips of known purpose were to San Xavier.
² 2 of 20 trips of known purpose were to the rodeo.